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OPERATION IMMIGRATION

By Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

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Research Report No. 1

THE Foundation for Freedom was established to undertake and maintain serious research in political, social and economic processes affecting sound constitutional government. Its purpose is to inform, educate and increase the knowledge of the American people in the principles which have made this country great—and to teach them to apply these same principles to the problems of our age.

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Operation Immigration

The Problem

America is still the envy of the world. Our living standards are the highest known to mankind. People of other lands, who know this, want to come here. Conditions in most parts of Europe are abominable. Hundreds of thousands are dependent upon charity for their very means of existence. The war brought death, disease, desolation and desperation. It imposed heavy burdens. Millions are anxious to get out of Europe before another war starts. Even now, many live in terror of their lives. So what is more natural than that they should seek to come to our peaceful shores?

In general these foreigners seek the freedom, security and material comforts that they can not find in their native lands. Many are seeking refuge from political or economic persecutions. Still others are looking for a field where they can promote their own ideas. They feel they can no longer live in their native lands according to their own political ideas. They believe they may do so in America.

In this country there are numerous individual organizations that are interested in getting aliens into the United States. The bulk of them are moved by humanitarian feelings. Many feel an opposition to Nazism or Communism is insurance of future good citizenship. Others are anxious to rescue or bring in more of their own race, creed, politics or nationality. They have raised funds to underwrite these aliens and have been very active at home and abroad. As a result, there is a growing concerted movement to let down or remove the immigration barriers which have been on our law books since the influx of immigrants after World War I. High government officials and American representatives have joined the movement. The majority are primarily interested in admitting the much-persecuted Jews.

Immigration into the United States has been limited by quota since 1921. These quotas apply to persons born in Europe, Africa, Australia and Asia. Immigration of those born in the Americas is still free and unlimited. Close relatives of American citizens are also free from quota restrictions.

For all practical purposes immigration quotas now total about 154,000 annually. All but about 3,500 have been granted to those of European nationalities. The quotas are now based on the national origins, by birth

or ancestry, of people living in the United States at the time of the 1920 census. Each country has a minimum quota of at least 100. The largest groups of displaced persons in Europe were born in countries with the smallest quotas.

There are many Europeans who would make a high personal sacrifice to get into this country. It has been estimated that there are two million displaced persons in Europe outside the Russian sphere. All of these probably would like to come to America. Many others would like to start life anew in our land of opportunity. There is no knowing how many would seek to enter this country if there were no legal restrictions.

The American people and their Congress will soon be asked to take some action on this subject. As Ugo Carusi, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, has said:

"... We are now demonstrating what can be done pursuant to existing legislation. The extent to which the country will take on further obligations by accepting and caring for larger numbers of displaced persons depends entirely upon whether legislation to take effect will be forthcoming."

In his State of the Union message, President Truman declared:

"... Congressional assistance in the form of new legislation is needed. I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem, in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

What action is taken, if any, should be based on a full understanding of the entire problem. It should not be the result of any minority political pressure presenting only a limited view of this important problem. It should not be based solely on the personal needs or desires of prospective immigrants. The full, long-time effect on the American economy and way of life should be considered. This paper, while far from exhaustive, seeks to raise a number of the points that should be weighed before any action is taken.

tion the first proclamation establishing quotas on a national origins basis was made by President Hoover on March 22, 1929, and put into effect July 1, 1929." *

The total annual quotas were set at 153,879, divided as follows:

Northern and Western Europe.....	125,853
Southern and Eastern Europe.....	24,648
<hr/>	
All Europe	150,501
Asia	1,528
Africa	1,200
Pacific	650
<hr/>	
Total	153,879

Minor changes have been made with the passage of time so that the annual quotas effective July 4, 1946, were 153,929.

Effect of Quotas

The result of these quota laws was to reduce immigration to only a fraction of what it previously had been. During the 1920s, when this country was prosperous, many foreigners wanted to come over here. Immigration totals were very close to quotas but only a little over 4 million were able to enter during this decade. Close to 2½ million of these came in before the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. As the Immigration and Naturalization Service states:

"From July 1, 1924 . . . through 1930 the quota law served as a truly restrictive measure, holding back the current of migration."

Immigrants accounted for about 24 per cent of our increase in population during this decade.

During the 1930s, the depression was rampant and very few sought to enter the United States. Total immigration for the decade was only a little over half a million and accounted for only about 6 per cent of our total increase in population. High unemployment tended to reduce the attractiveness of our country to foreigners. Likewise, fewer of those already here were able to send funds to bring their own relatives to this country. The fear that many were "likely to become a public charge" also tended to curb the granting of visas as freely as previously had been the custom. As a result, total immigration was far below what quotas would have permitted.

However, by the end of the decade, immigration from Germany and countries in Southern and Eastern Europe had increased considerably. In fact, these countries which were allowed one-third of our European quotas,

* Immigration Restriction in the U. S., Monthly Review January, 1947, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

exceeded their quotas in 1939. Other European countries, entitled to two-thirds of our European quotas, used only about 8 per cent of their quotas during the same year.

In other words, nationalities which we wanted to limit by law to one-third of all immigrants from Europe were actually supplying 86.4 per cent of the total. On the other hand, those countries entitled to supply two-thirds of the European quota immigrants furnished only 13.6 per cent of the total. From this it can easily be seen that the nationalities of the European immigrants did not represent the will of Congress, which provided for a higher proportion to come from "those countries whose traditions, languages and political systems were akin to those of this country."

No study of the present immigration problem would be complete without mention of the role of the Jewish race. There have been Jews in America ever since the earliest colonial days. The World Almanac once reported that as early as 1654 a company of Jewish refugees arrived in New York, then known as New Amsterdam. However, in colonial days the number of Jews in America was negligible. This continued to be so all through the first century of the Republic. In fact, 100 years after the Declaration of Independence was signed, the Jewish population of the United States was only about one-half of one per cent of the total.

In 1877 there were only 229,000 Jews in this country. From then on our Jewish population has increased rapidly. By 1920, the base year for the National Origins Plan, our Jewish population had increased to about 3½ million. This represented more than three per cent of our total population. Since then, Jewish immigrants have been entering the United States in relatively large numbers. In 1939 they composed more than 66 per cent of the total quota immigrants admitted.

During 1940 immigration declined considerably, although Germany, Poland and several smaller Southeastern European countries came pretty close to their quotas. Immigrants of the Jewish faith composed 67.6% of the total quota immigrants. The trend was still further away from the proportions established under the National Origins Plan.

By 1942 the war had made immigration negligible. Invasions, shortages of shipping facilities and other difficulties in moving from one country to another, as well as complications of loyalties and citizenships, prevented any mass movement of aliens across the Atlantic. Only 14,597 quota immigrants were admitted during the year ending June 30, 1942. More than two-thirds of these were members of the Jewish race.

Millions, of course, wanted to get out of enemy-occupied territory. In most cases this was impossible. Whatever movement this country encouraged was toward Palestine and not into this country, with the exception of a group of 982 refugees brought in by President Roosevelt's Proclamation and interned at Oswego, New York, for the duration of the war.

In reporting on how the National Origins Plan has worked, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization has this to say:

"Obviously the 'automatic selective' process, one of the advantages claimed for the Immigration Act of 1924, has, in a sense, failed to function since it did not force actual immigration into the pattern chosen. A primary purpose of the Act, however, that of preserving the racial homogeneity of the population, has been accomplished both by the restrictive measures limiting quotas, and by the turn of events that kept the volume of immigration so low that the disproportionate distribution of immigrants has not had any significant effect on the composition of the total population." *

Now that the war is over, millions of aliens would like to come to our shores. Before we change our policies, it would be wise for us to know more about who they are and why they want to come and what effect they might have on our national life and institutions. As Representative Earl Michener, Chairman of the House Committee dealing with immigration, has said, "The interests of the United States must be considered first."

Origin of the Present Problem

Adolf Hitler first came into power on January 30, 1933. Part of his political program was to blame Jews and Communists for every unfavorable condition. Government-sponsored propaganda led most Germans to believe that all Jews were Communists and that there was an international Jewish conspiracy against their fatherland. Thus anti-Semitism became an official policy of Naziism.

Under Hitler, all Germans lost most of the rights and freedoms which we cherish so highly in America. But, in addition to these losses, anti-Nazis and particularly Jews were gradually deprived of equal economic rights enjoyed by other Germans. These Jews and anti-Nazis, including Communists, found it more and more difficult to do business or earn a livelihood. Their natural impulse was to flee from Germany, but Hitler had them in a vise. Under his foreign exchange laws, they could not take money, or other negotiable evidences of wealth, outside of Germany. If they left Germany they had to leave behind everything they owned except hand luggage. This is hard for anyone to do. For the middle-aged and older members of the Jewish race, it was impossible. If younger members fled, they feared, with reason, that reprisals might be made against their parents or relatives left behind.

In addition to the difficulties of getting out of Germany, there were almost insurmountable difficulties in getting into any other country. Every nation had large numbers of unemployed. No one wanted penniless immigrants who might soon become a public charge. For most German-Jews and anti-Nazis, including Communists, the problem was pretty hopeless. Most of them were compelled to submit to the dictates of Hitler.

* Immigrants and National Origins, Monthly Review October, 1945, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

As Nazi anti-Semitism progressed, the parade to concentration camps began. With the outbreak of war, Nazi sadism became rampant. In a short while Hitler's forces over-ran most of continental Europe. His terrorism followed his swastika. Those who had fled to neighboring countries were recaptured. Throughout occupied Europe, every day and every night, innocent people were dragged from their homes, never to be heard from again. Women and children were left helpless to feed and care for themselves. People existed by hook and by crook. They lived in daily fear of physical violence. Many otherwise honest and good people were forced to steal and kill in order that they might continue their very existence. Starvation was everywhere. Warped minds and depraved bodies became the rule. People by the millions lost all respect for law and order. Human beings were reduced to what the Army calls the "animal level." These are the conditions that our troops found when they liberated the various countries of Europe. The horrors of Buchenwald, Dachau and other terror camps were then revealed, with all their cruelty, to the world.

Peace Without Tyranny

The part that Hitler and his National Socialism played in destroying the character and livelihood of millions is well known. Many thought that the fall of Hitler would bring terrorism to an end in Europe. The Atlantic Charter pledged the signatories as follows:

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

"Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

"Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for

realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

The purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter were subscribed to by all the Allied Nations when they signed the "Declaration by United Nations." The signatory nations also subscribed that they were

"convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal views seeking to subjugate the world."

Pledges Punctured

If all the victors had adhered to these lofty principles and purposes, there would be no refugee or displaced person problem today. People would all feel free to return to their homelands or to build their future wherever they might be, for there would be no persecution in any land. Everyone would be peacefully engaged in earning his livelihood in peaceful pursuits. It cannot be emphasized too strongly. If all the United Nations had adhered to their pledges, there would be no refugee or displaced person problem today.

However, we find that such is not the case.

President Truman, as early as August 31, 1945, mentioned:

"Jewish refugees who do not wish to remain where they are or who for understandable reasons do not desire to return to their countries of origin."

Fiorello H. LaGuardia, while he was still Director of U.N.R.R.A., states, on November 2, 1946, that "there are about 830,000 men, women and children homeless, hopeless and confused in U.N.R.R.A. camps today." After stating that many of these persons were displaced from their homes because of activities in favor of the United Nations, he said there were

"others who do not like the new governments in their old homelands. . . . Many were themselves politically active. In some instances, where there was civil war, many of them had participated on the losing side. This is particularly true of the Yugoslavs and the former residents of the Baltic States, as well as the Poles. . . . No one is forced to return to their country of origin. . . if he has any personal objections to returning to his country.

"The largest group of displaced persons are the Poles, numbering 319,680. The second group in size are the Balts—that is, Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians—with a total of 177,200. Then the Yugoslavs with about 30,000. There are about 110,000 displaced persons of the Jewish faith."

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Adviser to Generals Joseph T. McNarney and Mark Clark, on October 1, 1946, delivered an address which later was inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator Wayne Morse. This speech was made as a report to five Jewish agencies, upon his return from Europe. He spoke of the survivors of the German concentration camps and then went on to speak of "the recent infiltrates." He said, in part:

"... most of the newcomers are from Russia, whither they fled before the advancing Nazi armies. . . . The largest single problem that confronted us was the infiltration from Poland which, in a short time, doubled the Jewish displaced persons' population in Germany and Austria. Even before the Kielce pogrom, the robbing, beating and killing of Jews in Poland had increased the flow of those seeking safety in our zone. . . . The Communist-dominated government is unpopular with the majority of the Polish people and, in particular, with the articulate, well-organized Polish groups which are also anti-Semitic. The Jews were ground between the upper and lower millstones. . . . Most of them decided to leave Poland and no one was able to convince a single Jew to wait or remain in Poland, who had reached the conclusion that his life was no longer safe there; that neither he nor his family had any future there . . . their immediate destination was the United States zone in Germany. . . . On one night, alone . . . 3,900 people crossed the border.

"At this point I say 'thank God for the United States Army.' The United States Army, alone, has given shelter and care to the great numbers of our people fleeing from Eastern Europe out of fear and desperation. . . . Despite pressures to the contrary, despite the critical housing and food shortages of Germany, despite the lack of any clear outlet for these people, the borders were kept open."

Rabbi Bernstein tells us how the Poles have been escaping to Czechoslovakia. This has been confirmed by an AP despatch of January 18, 1946, which stated, "The stream of refugee Jews across the Polish border into Czechoslovakia has grown to a flood in the fortnight immediately before the Polish elections." Czechoslovakia has been fearful lest this number jeopardize her own security and refused to grant permanent shelter. As Rabbi Bernstein stated:

"... not a single government in Europe has been prepared to offer more than temporary shelter to these people. . . . Once again the United States Army came through. General McNarney authorized me to give his personal guarantee to the Czechoslovakian government that, on July 1, 1947, if so requested, and with 30 days' notice, he

would take these Jews from Czechoslovakia to the United States zone in Germany."

The New York Herald Tribune of October 4, 1945, carried a despatch from Zeilsheim, Germany, which starts out

"Polish Jews who returned to Poland after the German surrender are again fleeing from their homeland in search of refuge from anti-Semitic excesses, and many are slipping back clandestinely into the American zone in Germany."

On January 26, 1947, this New York paper carried a wireless despatch from Frankfurt Am Main, Germany, which said:

"Army headquarters, meanwhile, is warily watching the actions of approximately 40,000 Polish Jews now temporarily located along the Polish-Czech frontier. While this group probably will not migrate in the severe winter months, it is known here that the Russian, Polish and Czech governments facilitate the movement of Polish Jews from east to west. This strategy is based on the belief that the more of the Jews who become the responsibility of the Western powers, the more embarrassed the Western powers will become, in view of the tense Palestine situation."

The same newspaper on February 1, 1947, reports an address of Jacob Pat, Executive Secretary of the Jewish Committee:

"Mr. Pat . . . said that 'while a number of European countries are helping to solve the DP problem by admitting refugees, neither the Soviet Union nor her satellite countries are accepting them.' Of the quarter-million displaced Jews in Germany, he added, most of them are being taken care of through American funds and more than half of them are refugees from Poland and the Balkans 'who have come out of Russia since the end of the war'."

Representative Jacob K. Javits, returned from a trip to Europe to tell his Colleagues in the House of Representatives, on February 13, 1947, that:

"... some 1,000,000 refugees and displaced persons are largely under the care of the United States and Great Britain. Four-fifths of them are Poles, White Russians and Ukrainians, most of whom refuse to be repatriated because of their opposition to the regimes now governing their countries."

Mr. George Meader, Counsel for the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, after a trip to Europe, reported:

"There are at the present time approximately 150,000 Jewish displaced persons in U. S. Zone of Germany, of whom less than one quarter were in Germany during the war. Their number has increased by 120,000 since January 1, 1946, and they are continuing to come. It is estimated that there are 100,000 Jews left in Poland, of whom the

United States will eventually have to care for well over half. There are 180,000 Jews in Hungary whom the Russians are at present not permitting to leave. The United States continues to accept into its zone the Jews, as well as any other eastern European people who can present a plausible claim that they are persecuted for racial or religious reasons or for political beliefs favorable to the Allies."

There are strong indications that many Jews and non-Jews in the Russian-dominated sphere of Europe are anxious to escape from their present governments. It seems to be evident that the present problem is caused primarily by the failure of a number of the United Nations to live up to the purposes and principles to which they subscribed before the close of the war, when most of them were recipients of American Lend-Lease.

There has been considerable criticism in recent times of Great Britain in her refusal to permit more displaced Jews to enter Palestine. There are no official figures available as to the numbers of Jews that have entered Palestine, either legally or illegally. It is a matter of record, however, that the United States Government, during the war, was instrumental in bringing thousands of European Jews into Palestine. This story is told in the book "Life-lines to a Promised Land" by Ira A. Hirschmann, who was appointed, by President Roosevelt, as a special Attache to carry out the orders of the War Refugee Board. He was given "unprecedented authority" including that of communicating with the enemy. His efforts were directed primarily toward helping refugees to escape from the Balkans and enter Palestine.

After the Balkans had been over-run by the Russians, he stated:

"... the British and Americans took it for granted that they could move into these countries also. A military mission, consisting of a few British and American Intelligence Officers and some newspapermen, immediately flew to Bucharest, Roumania.

"I was still trying to find a way of breaking through restrictions to go to Bulgaria when I received a telephone call from a Reuters newspaperman in Sofia. He said that the military mission composed of Britishers and Americans which I had tried hard to join had been given 24 hours notice to leave. At first I did not believe him. However, the Turkish and German radios soon began to boom a triumphant newsbeat: 'The Russians have escorted the British and American mission to the border and seen them off on the train for Istanbul.'"

Former Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin recently returned from a trip to Palestine and said that the Jewish population in Palestine was "at least a million."

Recent advents of shocking terrorism have shown the character of many of those who have entered the Holy Land in recent years. No attempt is here made to take any sides on the Palestine issue or assess whatever blame should fall on Great Britain. However, it is only fair to state that Russia, Poland and other countries under Communistic domination should bear

their full share of the blame for the number and conditions of displaced persons on the European continent.

Effects of Immigration

In 1943, the Milbank Memorial Fund held a round table discussion on the Implications of Population Trends for Post-War Policy. One of the leading participants was Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology at New York University. He discussed, in detail, the post-war problems of immigration. The report of this round table quotes him as saying that there are no more important post-war problems,

"than those concerning the effects of emigration and immigration upon the economic, political, social and psychological conditions of the countries involved. Fortunately, some of the most important theories along these lines have been quite conclusively worked out, and are now accepted by the majority of the specialists in the field. Foremost among these is the principle that, in most of the countries involved, a steady, regular and anticipated emigration does not affect the long-time rate of growth or size of the country of source, nor does it increase the rate of growth of the country of destination. Consequently, it has no power of relieving the evils of over-population in countries of the former type, but it may have a very prejudicial effect upon the standards of living and economic conditions in the countries of destinations. It will certainly have a profound effect upon the ethnic composition of the latter countries."

Dr. Fairchild goes on to discuss the demands that immigration barriers be lowered and the fact that these demands receive support from many who thought

"... we are fighting this war for the sake of democracy, the rights of the common man, the eradication of race prejudice and the general recognition of human equality. If the findings of science were in accordance with unenlightened, liberal sentiment, there might be no particular danger. Since this is not the case, it is essential that the peace negotiators be prepared to recognize, and to make clear to the world, that what may seem like a narrow or illiberal policy is really a liberal policy because it promises the greatest welfare for the greatest number of people over the longest stretch of time."

With this evidence that the majority of specialists feel that immigrants have a very prejudicial effect upon the standards of living and economic conditions of their new homeland, it behooves us to examine some of the effects that might be expected in this country from increased immigration.

Our history has shown that much of the immigration of the 19th century was very helpful to our economic conditions. It helped us to exploit our resources and provide a market which permitted the efficiencies of mass production and distribution. The question this generation faces is whether,

at this time, increased immigration will have a beneficial effect on our nation and the world at large.

If we open our doors to the dregs of Europe it would not only pull us down but it would also injure the rest of the world by weakening our ability to offer moral leadership and produce the much-needed wealth we share with the entire world. On the other hand, if we grant entry to only the best type of foreigners, will we not drain their countries of the leaders which they need to overcome their present difficulties? Without their best elements, are not foreign countries likely to sink to levels below the point where we can assist them? These are parts of the problems which must be considered. Many of these long-range problems must be considered, as well as the short-range ones.

Problems Prolonged

We have many immediate economic problems in this country. Probably one of the greatest is the housing shortage. Until Americans can obtain homes at more reasonable prices and rentals, any new immigrants will cause hardships to millions of Americans. They can not live in the open spaces but must be housed. Any shelter furnished for them will mean less shelter available for those already in this country.

Another serious economic problem in this country is the labor situation. Under present practices, powerful labor unions have monopoly powers over jobs. In many walks of life there is no freedom of competition for jobs. There is only a limited field in which Americans can compete for jobs. Many Veterans are still seeking jobs. Some have been withheld from the labor market by the unemployment benefits to which they are entitled. Still others, in abnormal quantities, are pursuing educational opportunities. Within a few years they will be on the labor market and will have to compete for the limited number of jobs which will exist if present conditions continue. All this means that new immigrants will mean more competition for these Veterans and other Americans in their battle to meet the high cost of living which has resulted from the war, years of an unbalanced budget and labor policies permitting certain groups to raise their share of the national income almost at will.

Until recently there has always been an excess of males over females in the United States. By 1940 the ratio between the two sexes had become about even. With our entry into the war, the number of women has, for the first time in our history, exceeded the number of men. This is particularly true in the age groups from 20 to 40. This means that many American women do not have the same opportunity to marry that they hitherto enjoyed.

Before 1930, male immigration had always exceeded female immigration. For the period from 1899 to 1929, the ratio was 186 males per 100 females. Since 1930, however, the trend has shifted significantly. The proportion of males has declined until, in 1945, the ratio was 54 males per 100 females. Since the age of most immigrants is between the ages of 20 and 40, it is very

likely that a heavy increase in immigration would further reduce the opportunity of American women of the present generation to marry.

Another matter which might be considered is that our present representation in Congress is based on population, regardless of citizenship. Although aliens do not have the right to vote, they do have the right of representation in our legislature and thereby create a certain amount of pressure which does not represent American viewpoints.

There are many other ways in which immigration will affect our nation. Some of these will be discussed in the section devoted to the type of immigrants likely to enter the United States if the present bars are removed.

Alien Labor Influence

As mentioned before, one of the greatest problems this nation faces is its labor situation. In the opinion of many, the Wagner Labor Relations Act is responsible for much of our difficulty. This Act bears the name of the only United States Senator born on continental Europe who survived from the 79th to the 80th Congress.

Others who are fathers to the same philosophy include such foreign-born labor leaders as Sidney Hillman, Daniel Tobin, David Dubinsky, Mathew Woll, Harry Bridges and Philip Murray. They have put a good deal of their alien philosophy to work in this country. They have now raised a generation of followers in their faith. We now find new and younger American-born labor leaders, such as the Nathans, Frankensteins, Reuthers, Milton Murrays, James B. Careys, and Joseph Beirnes. These Americans accept and teach the alien philosophy that Americans, as individuals, no longer have a right to negotiate with prospective employers.

It thus can be seen that alien influences have had the serious effect in creating our present labor problem. The ease with which aliens can become American citizens has not helped the situation. Recently Representative Clarence Brown, of Ohio, advocated Congressional action to bar aliens from holding high offices in trade unions.

Alien Government Influence

In the field of government, persons of alien birth and education have had a prominent part in shaping important policies of this nation.

Probably one of the most outstanding instances was that of Dr. Eveline M. Burns who was a Director of Research for the National Resources Planning Board. This Board was set up by Executive order without Congressional authority and was later abolished by Congress after it had brought out a socialist program for post-war America.

Dr. Burns was responsible for much of the plan. She was born in England and educated in the London School of Economics. She came here in 1926 and was naturalized in 1937. She once made a study of the German social security system, as the result of which she has sponsored much of the social legislation in this country. Before she became a citizen she was a

consultant for the President's Committee on Economic Security. An advocate of a planned economy, she has written such things as the following:

"Only by a sacrifice of much of the cherished freedom of the individual to do what he will with his own labor and property, can the necessary control be secured. . . .

"This analysis suggests that the society which desires to avoid the all-too-familiar periodic economic disorganization with its accompanying unemployment will have to devise methods of preventing the indiscriminate use of resources by every optimistic would-be producer and of replacing the co-ordinated guesses of individual producers by a more orderly method of estimating. Such a development would imply, *inter alia*, the imposition of controls that would take away from individuals the right to make what use they wished of their own labor and property. . . .

"... there can be little doubt that the socialist state would be in a better position than is the capitalistic order to control unemployment. It would, however, have to devise some method of coercing labor where necessary."

Her husband, with like background, was Chief Adviser to the War Production Board.

Such alien thinking has reached high in the ranks of the Federal administration. It is, of course, highly questionable that immigration quotas, alone, can keep such thinking from high places. However, it can be seen that frequently aliens are shaping our thinking rather than we, theirs, as was the case with early immigrants.

There is the case of Michael Joseph Deutch, who was born in Smolensk, Russia, in 1907, and became a citizen on February 26, 1946. He was deferred in the draft on the request of government agencies because of his importance to the war effort. He was once on the staff of war analysis for the Board of Economic Warfare headed by Henry A. Wallace. From there he went to the War Production Board as a senior industrial analyst. Later he was special assistant to the program vice-chairman where it was his duty to plan and expedite aviation gasoline, synthetic rubber and other programs. Thus, while still an alien, he was placed in authority over the efforts of Americans who had developed our resources.

Executives in the oil business found his manner to be dictatorial and one charged him with being among those who "enjoy the privilege of pushing people around" and "believe our form of government should be changed to another pattern." His superior considered him a loyal and ardent American. However, during all this period he held important government positions, he was an alien.

Then, there is the recent case of Carl Aldo Marzani, who was dismissed from the State Department on December 20, 1946, after serving in the Office of the Co-ordinator of Information, the Office of Strategic Services, and the

State Department. He had formerly served as an organizer of the Communist party. All during his service in public office, his Communistic background was a matter of public record, yet for years no action was taken.

There are many others like him. In one agency, the Office of War Information, there were once 533 aliens on their rolls in the United States. This did not include any of the 1600 aliens the OWI at that time employed in their foreign branches. Questions concerning the loyalty of many of these were raised by members of Congress. It developed that the background of many of them had not been checked long after they had been on the pay roll. Later, a number of them had to be dropped because of their questionable loyalty to the United States and our form of government.

Aliens at Large

There is also the recent case of Gerhard Eisler, who has been described as the brains behind the Communist party in the United States. Until recently, the American public was never told how he came to be in this country. The State Department, on February 13, 1947, admitted that he intended entering Mexico but that his ship was seized by a Dutch gunboat and forced into Trinidad, where he boarded a ship headed for New York. He was admitted, after hearings, on a temporary visitor's permit, on June 13, 1941, for 60 days. From time to time this permit was extended. He was still here five and a half years later.

Questions have been raised concerning the legality of many entries into this country. Little information on illegal entries is available. The number who have over-stayed their original visitors' permits is unknown. Representative Arthur L. Miller, of Nebraska, tried to find out some information on the subject. On January 23, 1947, he told the House of Representatives:

"I am disturbed and concerned because of the apparent confusion in the several departments of Government covering the problems of immigration. The American people are not being told the truth. In my efforts to get information on this subject I run into the reluctance on the part of government agencies to furnish facts and they make statements about a Presidential order prohibiting the giving out of such information. It is utterly impossible to get from the State Department or from the immigration authorities the true picture as to the types of people coming into the United States. Rumors are afloat about large groups coming in weekly. . . . Suppression of immigration facts and the slanting of propaganda to favor certain policies should be stopped. . . .

"When the character of our immigrants began to change, the Congress set up the quota system and placed upon it some other restrictions aimed at preserving the character of our population. Until 10 years ago, this system was strictly adhered to. Are the laws being as strictly observed today? The Congress and the people have a right to know. . . . I am certain a careful scrutiny of the records today will show that many of the people now coming will not make a contribu-

tion to good government. A great many of them are disturbers. Many of them are joining groups and societies that have in mind changing our form of government. . . . Mr. Speaker, I am suggesting that an investigation be made by the proper Committee at once. I am sure that they will reach a decision to close our doors to further immigration. I am sure the American people and the Congress should have all the facts."

A week later this same Congressman took the floor to tell his Colleagues that:

"... Attorney-General Clark estimated last June 9 (1946) that 2,000 people a day were entering this country illegally, that is, without visas. This would mean 730,000 a year from this source. The Immigration Service apprehended 85,000 who came in illegally the last 6 months of 1946."

This same Congressman, along with Representative Daniel A. Reed, cited planes making flights from Egypt and Palestine to Miami, Florida, carrying displaced persons to the United States. Representative Reed placed in the Congressional Record the names of passengers and their age, sex, nationality and occupation. The State Department later stated that they had issued neither visas nor passports for passengers flying in chartered planes from these areas.

In April, 1946, the Immigration and Naturalization Service published an article on some Mexican border problems. It seems certain agreements were made with the Mexican Government, in 1944, whereby a specified number of Mexican agricultural workers were allowed into this country for temporary war work. The need was pressing and the wages looked attractive to Mexicans. The article states that:

"To keep all of the border under surveillance was, of course, physically impossible . . . a large number of them evaded the border screen and made their way into the United States.

"Most of those laborers . . . readily obtained employment . . . and at wages which were higher than those being paid in Mexico."

During November, 1944, the border patrol in the Los Angeles district apprehended 3,384 persons. After that, the Mexican government restricted our expulsion of Mexican nationals to Baja California, primarily because there were no facilities to get them back to their homes in other parts of Mexico. Our own facilities were not adequate to handle all that were caught so "apprehension had to be 'rationed' and 'quotas' established."

The article closes with the following paragraph:

"The press of aliens to enter illegally continues unabated. Many of the problems mentioned in the foregoing are continuing problems which challenge our best efforts. They are being attacked in the same spirit that prevailed over obstacles during the crucial war days."

It thus can be seen that the official figures for immigration are far from the true figures, and that Congress and the Nation should have more information on the number and type of people that have entered this country in recent years.

Edward V. Rickenbacker, one of America's leading ace aviators in World War I, made a speech on December 12, 1946. While stating that immigrants built America and that America always would be a haven for those in search of opportunity in the American way, he added that:

"Under the guise of refugees, task forces of dissension have established beach-heads along our Eastern and Western seaboard and they are now drilling their underground, undercover and un-American invasion clear across the country from both fronts.

"It would be easy to resist this invasion if it had a single European national source. But the sinister agents within this refugee army came from many European countries, although they represent one single cause—Communism."

He urged that these "agents of Hate" be sent back to the lands from which they came. He said it was "amazing" that none of these "American quislings is anxious to escape from the capitalistic Siberia of America to the green Communistic pastures of the old world."

Another difficulty we have experienced with entries into this country has been the pre-examination procedure. Under this, aliens who desire to live in the United States enter on a temporary visa or in an illegal manner and then send their documents to an American consul in Canada for preliminary examination. Aliens find it easier to obtain their visas in this manner and there are indications that the Immigration and Naturalization Service have condoned this procedure. Representative Reed informed his Colleagues in Congress that:

"House appropriation hearings show that the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization advised Mrs. Earl Browder to go to Canada, get a visa, and then apply for her citizenship; and that this is a frequent procedure for aliens who originally entered the United States, or were here, illegally. In 1937, letters from Sumner Welles told aliens how to go to other Latin American countries, get visas, and then return for admission to citizenship."

Personals re Displaced Persons

The greatest pressure at present is for the United States to let in an increasing number of the displaced persons in Europe. Before a decision is made, an understanding should be reached of the type of people these persons are.

Ugo Carusi, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in November, 1946 stated:

"... the entire problem of displaced persons in Europe amounts to

some two million individuals. Most of them are former slave laborers. Others are political or racial refugees and all of them fear unsettled economic conditions or persecution in their homelands. They are spread over all of the countries of Central Europe and, in addition, uncounted thousands are to be found in Russia, Palestine and the Far East. . . . The most optimistic estimates indicate that, at best, between 500,000 and 600,000 of these people are likely to remain a long-term problem for the United Nations' new International Refugee Organization."

Earl G. Harrison, who made a personal study of displaced persons for President Truman immediately after V-E Day, said in his report:

"It cannot be over-emphasized that many of these people are now desperate, that they have become accustomed, under German rule, to employ every possible means to reach their end and that the fear of death does not restrain them."

An official Army Talk, No. 151, prepared for delivery to American occupation troops, describes the life in internment camps before the surrender and goes on to state:

"There is little wonder that the resultant product of this systematic starvation and enforced slavery should present a picture of apathy, chronic weakness, lack of coordination and warped mentality.

"It is unnecessary to whitewash the DPs who commit misdemeanors and felonies. Crime is always a cause for concern and there never has been a valid excuse for lawlessness. DPs who steal food, military supplies, patronize the black market, assault German civilians and commit other breaches of good conduct, must be apprehended and punished, but we must be aware of these points:

1. That DPs have lived within a lawless atmosphere for many years.
2. Some of them have lived only for revenge, and now lack the emotional balance of those who have not shared their experiences.
3. The destructive and criminal element among the DPs is only a small percentage of the DP population. . . ."

In speaking of the problems which the first American military personnel faced when they arrived in Europe and Germany, the talk states:

"The new GIs found it difficult to understand and like people who pushed, screamed, clawed for food, smelled bad, who couldn't and didn't want to obey orders, who sat with dull faces and vacant staring eyes in a cellar or concentration camp barracks, or within a primitive cave, and refused to come out at their command.

"When people are reduced to the animal level their reaction to suggestion and situations is on that level. When some of the DPs

were liberated they gave first priority to retaliation against their one-time masters rather than to cooperation with the Allied Civil Affairs Authorities."

Rabbi Bernstein, in his address previously mentioned, said, among other things:

"The young American GI finds it difficult to understand the DP; his way of thinking, his behavior patterns are foreign to him. As time passes the DPs become increasingly burdensome to those who are responsible for their care. . . . The final danger of which I wish to speak is the trend of demoralization to the DPs themselves. It is in the nature of almost a miracle that they maintained their sanity and balance and hope so long and in the face of such obstacles. . . . With rare exceptions they are utterly destitute."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, in November 1946, told us:

"For obvious reasons, many people are without birth or baptismal certificates and the Consuls are empowered to make allowances and use discretion in the matter of accepting unsupported statements. Many of these people have become suspicious of authority and have trained themselves over a period of years to lie in self-preservation."

Mr. Meader, in his report, stated:

"At Babenhausen there were 3,000 newly-arrived Jews who had come from Poland. The Babenhausen camp had been open for only about two weeks prior to my visit. It was at that camp where a trainload of Jews had refused to get off the train because the camp was not good enough. When the Army authorities threatened to turn the train around and send them back where they came from, they still did not get off the train. The Army authorities did turn the train around, but, instead of taking them back, took them to another camp.

"These persons are, for the most part, penniless and do not desire to work, but expect to be cared for, and complain when things are not as well done as they think they should be. Mr. Goldman, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Director of the camp, said that he had not been able to get more than 400 of the 3,000 to do any work, even fixing up their own dwelling space. When he did get any work out of them, it was because of offering special inducements, such as extra cigarettes.

"It is very doubtful that any country would desire these people as immigrants. . . .

"The finding of employment for DPs presents an additional problem which appears to have no satisfactory solution. . . . Among the estimated 275,000 employables, only about 40% - 50% are employed, and such employment includes a substantial number engaged in 'vocational training' within the Centers. Approximately 53,000 are em-

ployed by the United States forces and a certain number are engaged in their own Center administration. . . . Certain of them—notably the Balts—show a willingness and desire for work; others, including the Jews, do not want to work. The entire problem is rendered more acute in the light of the unavoidable moral and physical deterioration resulting from long periods of idleness and dependence on outside charitable support. . . . Black market activities have offered a convenient substitute for regular employment and certain criminal elements have committed numerous crimes of violence. This is an aspect of the DP problem which has received little publicity but has been a source of constant worry to those responsible for the maintenance of order. Accurate statistics can never be obtained; however, those furnished are worthy of note in passing. . . . More revealing, perhaps, are the figures taken from the Weekly Intelligence Summary of G-2 Division of the same Headquarters. Examination of these figures over a period of 23 weeks in the first half of the current year (1946) discloses reports of 4,116 thefts, 219 homicides and 890 assaults and available figures indicate that better than 50 per cent of those reported may be considered verified."

The New York Herald Tribune, in a special despatch appearing in their paper on January 2, 1947, speaks of the

"... frustration born of idleness and despair has erupted in minor crime waves and in rampant black market operations. Efforts to suppress these outbursts by MP and constabulary raids have only added to the unhealthful tension."

Senator Chapman Revercomb, in his report to the Senate Republican Steering Committee, dated December 30, 1946, had this to say:

"The political aspect of the situation can not be overlooked. Many of those who seek entrance into this country have little concept of our form of government. Many of them come from lands where Communism had its first growth and dominates the political thought and philosophy of the people. Certainly it would be a tragic blunder to bring into our midst those embodied with a Communistic line of thought, when one of the most important tasks of this day is to combat and eradicate Communism from this country."

"The point of whether these DPs who are undesired in their own country, and who, for some reason, have made themselves undesirable, or from their own choice are not willing to attempt to get along with their own governments, should be brought into this country to dwell among our people, is worthy of study."

"Another point to be given consideration is whether we should accept people who are unwilling to accept the now-dominant political policies of their own countries, and take the chance of dealing with them here among us. In other words, will we take the position that

they should work out with their own peoples and their own governments their own situations in Europe until such time as they may come here under our present immigration laws, or shall we bring them here to work out their problems in this land.

"We can not ignore the distressing plight of these people who suffer as a result of the ravages of war. But, in helping them, should aid be given to them in Europe to re-establish themselves there, in or near to their native lands, or should we permit them to come into this country in large numbers and have our people assume the burden of caring for and directing them here?

"No step should be taken at the price of probable economic or political turmoil in our midst."

"Our position should be taken squarely upon what is best for this country."

What Has Been Done

Once the war was over, this country stepped right into the breach and did everything that could reasonably be done. We took a leading part in setting up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and contributed well over 70 per cent of its funds. In addition, our occupation forces did everything within their power to alleviate the serious situation they found.

On December 22, 1945, President Truman issued a directive which provided that 90 per cent of the quotas for Central and Eastern Europe should be used for persons who could not or would not be returned to their pre-war homes. The President ordered that:

"Visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationalities. I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children to whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued."

On the question of faiths and creeds, Army Talk No. 151 has this to say:

"The majority of Europe's DPs are now Jews. On V-E day, Jews were a little more than 3 per cent of the 30 million DPs in Europe. At the present time they comprise approximately 28 per cent of the total number remaining."

Representative Immanuel Celler has stated on the radio that they comprise 25 per cent of the DPs.

Representative Jacob K. Javits told his Colleagues in the House of Representatives, on January 13, 1947:

"It is a popular misconception that most of these DPs are Jews but, in fact, only 25 per cent of the aggregate number in Austria, Italy and Germany are Jews, while 75 per cent are Christians."

In this connection, more than 65 per cent of the visas issued by the State Department to displaced persons between January 1, 1946, and October 31, 1946, were issued to Jews. Members of the House Immigration Committee, in November, 1946, reported that 70 per cent of the persons gaining entry into the United States at that time were of Jewish faith. This information, they said, was obtained after a secret session with representatives of the State Department. At the same time, one Member, Representative Ed Gossett, stated: "Relatively few children have been brought in."

It can thus be seen that 1946 figures indicate that the President's wishes have not been carried out in regard to the fair distribution of visas and his hope that a majority would be orphaned children.

Probably the primary reason for this was another section of the President's directive, "With respect to the requirement of law that visas may not be issued to applicants likely to become public charges after admission to the United States, the Secretary of State shall cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in perfecting appropriate arrangements with welfare organizations in the United States which may be prepared to guarantee financial support to successful applicants."

G. J. Haering, Chief of the Visa Division of the Department of State, wrote to Senator Revercomb, on December 18, 1946:

"The slowness of most non-Jewish welfare agencies in providing any considerable number of affidavits and of establishing adequate staffs of their representatives in the field to deal with cases requiring evidence to meet the provisions of the law naturally affected the number of non-Jewish cases which could qualify in early months of the distribution of visas to displaced persons. In contrast, Jewish organizations had large staffs and thousands of affidavits of support available at the very beginning of the program and they were, therefore, in a position to take up any balance of monthly quotas for which non-Jewish applicants were not available by virtue of a lack of adequate documentation concerning support."

Many Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Conference, the American Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Jewish Congress have actively been raising money to take care of the expenses and the red tape necessary to bring their fellow religionists to America. They started as early as 1934 with the formation of the German-Jewish Children's Aid, Inc. Their zeal has not been matched by organizations of other faiths.

In addition to our immigration, the United States has been of great assistance to the refugees and displaced persons in Europe. Rabbi Bernstein, on his return, had this to say, on October 1, 1946:

"Responsible Jewry knows, now, how indebted Jews are to the United States Army. . . . Generals McNarney and Clark continue to grant haven to Jewish persecutees. They continue to maintain a dif-

ferential in food, housing and care favorable to the victims of Nazi persecution. They grant exemption to Jews from the pressure applied to other displaced persons to return to their countries of origin, fully recognizing the inhumanity of such a program for our people. They exclude Jews from all 'no work, no eat' proposals. . . . Despite acute food shortages and the special problems of supply caused by the shipping strike, they granted extra rations to the Jews for the high holidays. . . . The United States Army alone has given shelter and care to the greatest number of our people fleeing from Eastern Europe out of fear and desperation."

The Future

The United States Congress has appropriated \$2,451,708,000 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Our share was estimated to be 72 per cent of the total operating cost of this agency. In addition to this, we have spent many millions of dollars through our occupation army.

Mr. Meader, in his report, stated:

"Displaced Persons are presently requiring the attention of some 800 United States Army officers and men, of whom approximately 500 are devoting full time to this duty. An estimated 10% of the effort of many military service troops in the American zone is also devoted to Displaced Persons. Approximately 1400 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel, aided by some 600 personnel of various voluntary agencies are also caring for Displaced Persons. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration furnishes no food, clothing or 'Amenity supplies' such as soap and cigarettes. It provides supervision only." (This applies to the DPs in camps in the American occupied zone of Germany.)

"The cost of caring for Displaced Persons has been estimated at \$12 per month, per person, for food (\$13.20 for persecutees) and \$49 for an initial outfit of clothing, with a \$5 monthly maintenance cost. The estimated cost of caring for Displaced Persons plus 15,000 Civilian Internees (the costs are computed together) for the Fiscal Year 1947 comes to \$108,500,000 and for the Fiscal Year 1948 to \$109,400,000. These figures come under the appropriations, actual and proposed, for Government and Relief in Occupied Areas. They do not take into account the cost of United States military and civil personnel required to handle Displaced Persons matters, the share of the cost of tactical and service troops so required, the use of military vehicles and fuel therefor for Displaced Persons' transportation, nor the items paid by the German economy, such as telephone, housing, medical services or housekeeping personnel.

"No solution to the problem is presently in sight."

When U.N.R.R.A. expires, it is expected that the International Refugees

Organization will take over. Up to the time of this writing the I.R.O. has not been approved by a sufficient number of nations to place it in operation. It is expected to come before the United States Congress shortly. Its first year provisional budget was set at about \$161,000,000. The American share would be in the neighborhood of \$100,000,000. Fiorello LaGuardia, while still Director of U.N.R.R.A., said that this was "not enough." It therefore seems that the cost of displaced persons and refugees to the United States Government is still an unknown factor, both as to amount and the length of time that the American taxpayers will have to contribute sizeable sums.

Before very long, Congress will have to decide on a policy regarding refugees and displaced persons for the period after the peace treaties have been signed. Before forming this policy, Members of Congress and the American public should know considerably more about this problem than they do at the present time.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The primary responsibility for the present refugees and displaced persons' problems lies with those members of the United Nations who have violated their pledge to practice the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If Russia, Poland and the other Communist-dominated countries of Europe had kept their pledge, the problem would be only a minor one. It could then be solved in short order with little difficulty.

2. The United States should use its influence, through the United Nations Organization, to get all U.N.O. members to live up to their pledges. If the pledged word of the members of the U.N.O. has no value, we should know that and weigh it when making further agreements.

3. The United States Government and American taxpayers have done their share and should continue to do their share in facing this problem. They have done so and can continue to do so without any upward changes in present immigration quotas.

4. The National Origins Plan for immigration is based on a sound principle. It should be retained and reinforced. Congress should not grant the I.R.O. any authority to violate the National Origins principle or to change our immigration laws.

5. The economic situation in the United States, with emphasis on the housing and employment problems, is such that any large increase in immigration would act as a deterrent to the achievement of a well-balanced economy. Until our Veterans have been housed and provided employment, there should be no upward change in present quotas.

6. A review of the reports on displaced persons indicates that most of them are not the type who would make a sound contribution to our economic life. On the contrary, at this critical time, a large influx might have a very injurious effect on our economy.

7. Organizations authorized to file statements and accept financial responsibilities for immigrants should be required to file their own statements with the Congress. Such statements should contain all pertinent financial facts concerning the organization, its donors and purposes, as well as any general information concerning the investigations they make of persons for whom they accept responsibility. Some effort should be made to provide a balance of such organizations so that "visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationalities."

8. Governments should be instituted in our occupied areas which would establish conditions conducive to the founding of peaceful pursuits for large members of the displaced persons now in those areas. Further study should be given to the possibility of setting up schools in these areas to teach the people how to live in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

9. Inasmuch as the immigration problem is one of quality as much as it is of quantity, a study should be made of the Federal personnel responsible for the operation of our immigration laws. This study should include a careful scrutiny of the methods used in the selection of persons granted visas for permanent and temporary entry into the United States. This study might also consider whether it would be advisable to tighten our citizenship requirements in order to make it more difficult for undesirable persons to become citizens within a short period of time.

10. Since Congress has not now sufficient information concerning the aliens who have entered this country in recent years, a study should be instituted to get all information available bearing on the immigration situation both in the United States and abroad. More information should be made available concerning immigration entries, the number who have overstayed temporary visas and the pre-examination procedure. Only after such a study should any major revision be made in our present Immigration National Origins Quota System.

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